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ATTITUDES THAT BEAR ON ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE U.S.S.R.
A Preliminary Report

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ATTITUDES THAT BEAR ON ECONOMIC REFORM IN THE U.S.S.R.

(A Preliminary Report)

Times Mirror public opinion research in the U.S.S.R. finds that support for a free market economy in Russia and other Soviet Republics is modest at best and there is little evidence in the research that the Russian public is ready, willing or able to ***easily*** adapt to a free market economy.

Indeed, there are a number of indications in our polling that Russian beliefs about egalitarianism, profitability and views on entrepreneurs are antithetical to a free market.

At this time public support for a market economy may be being fueled more by a desire for economic change and relief than by a significant understanding of, or commitment to, free enterprise.

In that regard, it is clear that the dismal state of the economy dominates Soviet life almost to the exclusion of other issues. The primacy of economic concerns is such that in free response questions about national priorities and personal aspirations there is little registration of concern about important matters attendant to the emergence of democracy, the restructuring of the Soviet Union or the nationalities problems. The economy, economic deprivation, and financial worries overwhelm all other aspects of Soviet life.

More than three of every four Russians and Ukrainians mentioned economic problems as the nation's most important concern. And nearly one in five Russians cited the threat of starvation as the overriding issue in the U.S.S.R. Just 6% mentioned the most frequently noted non-economic issue, solving political problems and disputes.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of harrowing fear of economic disaster is reflected in the Lithuanian survey results. Although the highly nationalistic Balts cite independence as the most important problem facing the nation, when asked to name their greatest worry about the future, the failure of the Independence movement was the number ***two*** concern. The number one worry by far in the breakaway Republic is that the economy won't improve.

The Times Mirror survey gauged the receptivity of the Soviet publics to a market economy in three ways: 1) by asking direct questions about the kind of economy wanted in the future; 2) by measuring people's willingness to accept specific economic changes; and 3) by examining the values of the Russian people that bear on their capacity to accept capitalism.

Direct Measures

The Russian and Ukrainian publics show far less approval of efforts to establish a market economy than they do of their emerging multi-party democracy. A modest 54% majority of the Russians and 53% of Ukrainians approved of efforts to establish a free market economy. In contrast, over six in ten approved of ***political pluralism*** in both Soviet republics (60% in Russia and 72% in the Ukraine).

One indication of the role that the urgency of solving economic problems plays in Russian opinion about the free market is that the vast majority of those who approve of attempting a free market approach believes that the movement to a free market is going too slowly. In other countries approval of a free market is not as closely linked to impatience with its implementation.

When the Soviet people are asked to choose between various socialist and capitalist alternatives for the future, support for capitalism is even less evident. In Russia 46% pick a socialist alternative compared to 40% who select a form of capitalism. Most prefer democratic socialism (36%), while a Scandinavian form of capitalism is the second most popular individual scenario for the future (23%).

A very small minority chooses "status quo" communism for the future (10%) and only slightly more pick a free market form of capitalism (17%). In the Ukraine the balance tips more in the direction of some form of capitalism (49% to 37%), while in Lithuania there is a clear mandate - 67% favor a capitalist alternative versus 12% a socialist one.

Analysis of the survey reveals that general opinion about capitalism and attitudes toward specific economic changes are highly correlated with the demographics of Soviet life. Men, younger people and the better educated and more affluent people show much more support for advancing along the road to a free market system than do their counterparts in both Russian and the Ukraine.

In Russia 6 out of 10 men favor steps toward a free market economy compared to 40% of women. Among ***under 25's***, seven in ten favor a free market economy compared to less than 20% of Russians 70 years of age and older. In this classless society, 6 out of 10 of those with family incomes of more than 700 rubles or more per month approve of trying a market approach, compared to slightly less than half of those earning fewer rubles.

Opinions about political pluralism show exactly the same demographic pattern. Among Russian men, 7 in 10 approve of democratic reforms while slightly more than half of the women feel that way. This may suggest that these patterns reflect the capacity of different kinds of people in Russian society to accept change, as much as feelings about the issues themselves.

Opinion about Specific Economic Changes

Public ambivalence about a free market economy is underscored by the equivocal attitudes that Russians and Ukrainians have toward the concrete economic changes required to transform the Soviet economy. When questioned about the desirability of state control versus privatization, we found a clear preference for privatization in only one out of 13 areas - ***farming***.

By huge margins (79% and 86%) the Russian and Ukrainian publics say they would like to see state-run enterprises for heavy industry.

For consumer manufacturing and retail shops, pluralities prefer the availability of ***both*** private and state enterprises while overwhelming majorities (63% and upwards) favor electricity, transportation, and the phone systems in state hands.

Majorities of Russians and Ukrainians also choose state control of newspapers, radio and tv, schools, and health care. Farming is the one area where there is clear majority support for privately run enterprises in both Russia and the Ukraine (75%).

Nonetheless, many Russians oppose allowing farmers to sell their land on the open market. The controversial measure is favored by a narrow 47% to 42% margin in Russia, by a comfortable 60% to 27% margin in the heavily agrarian Ukraine, and by 66% in Lithuania.

One of the most hopeful signs for economic reform in the survey is that majorities in both Russia and the Ukraine favor letting prices increase as a way of making more products available, yet there are many opposed to this step. In Russia the concept is favored by a 59% to 31% majority, and in the Ukraine by a 51% to 37% majority.

Another encouraging note, is that by a two-to-one margin Russians and Ukrainians say they are willing to accept some unemployment for the sake of modernizing the economy. And almost all people in both surveys endorse the idea of borrowing to start private businesses.

However, opinions about people who run cooperatives (the prevalent Soviet form of free enterprise) is another matter. ***Our fuller reporting will show that most Russians and Ukrainians think that people who run cooperatives are having a bad effect on the way things are going in the country.*** And the Soviet publics divide sharply on whether entrepreneurs should be allowed to make as much profit as they can. In Russia 50% favor unlimited profits, and slightly fewer (45%) feel the state should limit profits. In the Ukraine the margin is about as close (49% vs. 45%).

Basic Beliefs and Values

Opinions about capitalism generally and economic reforms reflect more deep seated values and beliefs. Deep-rooted feelings about egalitarianism and individualism are especially relevant.

A plurality of Russians (46%) and Ukrainians (44%) think that people who get ahead do so at the expense of other people. A distinct minority see success as a consequence of some people having more ability or ambition than others (37%). Lithuanians are more apt to see success as a result of ambition and energy (50%) than as a consequence of people exploiting other people (39%).

On the other hand, many Russians and Ukrainians have difficulty with the concept of personal accountability for failure. Forty-five percent of people interviewed in Russia think that most people who fail in life do so because of personal shortcomings, but almost as many (39%) think that personal failure is society's fault, not the individual's shortcomings. Ukrainians were even more inclined to blame society for failure (48%) than to blame the individual (36%).

Lithuanians see things differently. A clear 58% to 28% margin attribute personal failure to the individual rather than society. Lithuanians are much closer to Western values than Russians or Ukrainians on many economic dimensions.

This certainly comes through in the comparative results of one standard Times Mirror opinion measure. A third of Americans and ***Lithuanians*** agree with the statement that ***"hard work doesn't guarantee success"***. In Russia, and the Ukraine that percentage is 60+%. (The Times Mirror full release on this study will contrast the basic beliefs of Russians, Ukrainians, and Lithuanians on 100 questions asked in the U.S., Western, Central, and Eastern Europe).

On the matter of work, surprisingly large majorities of each public questioned said they would prefer to work on an incentive system that would allow them to earn more if they accomplished a lot, but would limit their pay if they were not productive. In Lithuania 86% felt this way, in the Ukraine 79% and in Russia 65%.

The gender, age and socioeconomic patterns observed about capitalism are equally evident in the values of the people we interviewed in these Soviet republics. In Russia, clear pluralities of men, younger people and the more affluent saw an individual's failure as society's fault. Among women, older people and among poorer and less well-educated people society was blamed as often or more often. The same pattern is evident at least to some degree in almost all of the measures noted above.

The consequences of the economic situation on the mood of the people is extraordinary. This survey dramatically reveals how low the national spirit has sunk and how little optimism there is that things will improve in the near term.

The Russian and Ukrainian publics surveyed recorded some of the lowest ***"well-being"*** ratings for themselves and their country that we have ever observed. No fewer than 89% of the Russians polled rated the present state of their country below "5" on a ten point scale and almost everyone we interviewed felt the country was in worse shape than it was five years ago. The last comparable measure in the U.S. by the ***Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*** found 20% of Americans rating the

state of the nation poorly and 27% feeling the country had lost ground recently (February 1989).

People rate their own lives almost as poorly as they rate the state of the nation. Just ***2%*** rated their present ability to achieve their life's goals highly, 32% rated their situation as average and 64% poor. The comparable American ratings were 31% high, 55% average and ***13%*** poor.

A majority of Russians (57%) judge their present life less satisfying than their life five years ago and only 40% of Russians expect their life to be better five years from now compared to 23% who think things will get even worse.

Ukrainians express equally negative assessments of their lives and of the condition of their country but are a little more optimistic about the future than are Russians.

Lithuanian assessments are sharply different. First, they tend to view their lives somewhat more positively than either Russians or Ukrainians - most (51%) judge their progress toward life's goals as "average" but more significantly, a 51% majority of Lithuanians expect to make progress in their life over the next five years. These Baltic respondents were even more optimistic about the future of their country - 75% expect Lithuania to be better off five years from now than it is today.

SOVIET SURVEY METHODOLOGY

I. Interviewing, Sample Design and Statistical Adjustments

Face-to-face personal interviews with representative samples of the adult public were conducted simultaneously in three republics of the U.S.S.R. - the European part of Russia, the Ukraine and Lithuania. The Russian and Ukrainian surveys were conducted under the auspices of the Institute of Sociology of the USSR, Academy of Sciences. The Lithuanian survey was conducted by the Sociological Laboratory of Vilnius University.

The Russian and Ukrainian Survey

As this survey was part of a comparative European study the Russian sample was limited to the European part of the Republic. Although the European part of the RSFSR is only one third of the whole territory of the Russian Republic (the latter being 17,075,400 square km or 6,592,849 square miles), approximately two-thirds of the population of the Russian Republic live in the European part of Russia, which embraces the territory from the Baltic to the Urals. The survey is projectible to the 70 million adults aged 18 and older living in this part of the Russian Republic.

In the Ukraine, the survey covered the whole republic, and is projectible to 38 million adults aged 18 & older.

In RSFSR, 1,123 interviews were conducted in the following regions (oblasts) - Moscow (378), Leningrad (215), Samara (75), Volgograd (133), Kirov (70), Vladimir (39), Pskov (60), Severo-Osetinskaja (78) and Karelia (52), both autonomous republics. In each region, different types of cities, towns and villages were covered; a) a city with the population one million and over, usually the capital city of a region [oblast or autonomous republic]; b) a city with a population of 1,000,000 - 500,000; c) a city with a population of 500,000 to 100,000; d) a city with a population of less than 100,000; (e) a village.

The regions of Moscow and Leningrad were deliberately chosen and oversampled for special analysis, as they represent the parts of RSFSR where the move toward political and economic change is more noticeable. Other oblasts, and also cities and towns in each oblast were randomly selected. Villages were usually chosen because of their vicinity to medium-sized and small towns in oblasts.

Districts in cities and towns were chosen at random (8 in Moscow, 6 in Donetsk, 5 in Leningrad, 5 in Kiev, 4 in Lugansk, 4 in Volgograd, 3 in Samara, 3 in Kirov, 3 in Gouse-Kchrustanij, 3 in Pskov, 3 in Petrozavodsk, 3 in Vladikavkas and 3 in each of the smaller cities. In each district, the addresses and names were selected at random out of election lists and no fewer than three election stations were taken.

The interviewers had the lists of randomly selected respondents with the name, address and year of birth of each respondent given (the age limit on this survey was 80 years). They were also given an additional list which is comprised of additional names which were to be used in case of refusals or long absences of respondents. In case of the absence of a respondent, an interviewer was supposed to come back twice more, and then if a respondent was still unavailable, the interviewer moved on to the next name on the additional list.

In small towns and villages with a small number of interviews, the random route procedure was used to select a household and, of the members of that household, the interviewer first applied to a younger man in the family, and in case of his absence, an older woman in the family.

The demographic parameters were checked by the field managers according to the quota of distribution of demographic characteristics - gender, age, urban/rural type of population.

Interviews were conducted in 99 sampling points in the period between April 15, 1991 and May 5, 1991. The interviews were conducted on weekdays between 5:00 and 10:00 p.m. and on weekends between 10:00 a.m. and 10:00 p.m.

In the Ukraine, the sample of 586 people covered 4 major parts:

1. Industrial and mining, which was represented by two big oblasts - Lugansk (151) and Donetsk (30);
2. Central part - Kiev (122), Kirovograd (49), Tchernigov (49) oblasts;
3. South - Odessa (29) and Nikolajev (46);
4. Western Ukraine - Carpathian oblasts (53), Lvov (72) oblasts.

Interviews were conducted in 64 sampling points in the period between April 15, 1991 and May 5, 1991.

For the survey, 99 local interviewers were employed in the Russian Republic and 59 interviewers in the Ukraine. There were two general managers of the fieldwork, one for RSFSR and one for the Ukraine, and also managers for each oblasts. The fieldwork in Moscow, Volgograd, Osetija and Vladimir oblasts (Gouse-Kchrustanij) was supervised by the Moscow team [ROMIR and Institute of Sociology representatives]). Fieldwork in Leningrad, Pskov and Karelija regions was supervised by the Leningrad team. Fieldwork in Samara and Kirov was supervised by the local managers. Fieldwork in the Ukraine was supervised by the Lugansk University team.

Training of the fieldwork managers was conducted by the Institute of Sociology on April 9, 1991 by Soviet project leader, Dr. Elena Bashkirova. Training of the interviewers for Moscow and Vladimir oblasts was conducted in Moscow during the week of April 9 - 12, 1991 by ROMIR and the Institute of Sociology. Training of interviewers for Leningrad, Karelija and Pskov region was conducted in Leningrad and

training of interviewers for Volgograd, Samara, Kirov and Osetija was conducted in hese cities between April 10 - 12, 1991.

Training of fieldwork managers for the Ukraine was conducted on April 11, 1991 in Kiev by Dr. S. Milogolov, and training of the interviewers was carried out in the local places on April 12 - 15, 1991.

The interviewers who conducted interviews were mainly professionals who were experienced in face-to-face interviews and already used by the Institute of Sociology and ROMIR Company - researchers for the Institute of Sociology, Moscow, Leningrad, Kirov, Lugansk, Kiev and Vladikavkas Universities and part-time interviewers working for ROMIR (Moscow) and SOCIO (Samara).

The field managers controlled the interviewers' work by visiting randomly at least 10% of the respondents (in larger cities - such as Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd and Samara - 5% of interviews were checked by telephone). Biases in samples were controlled by the field manager according to quota distribution of main socio-demographic parameters: gender, age and rural/urban type of population.

The questionnaires collected and checked by the local field managers were then brought to Moscow to the Institute of Sociology, where both sets of questionnaires were coded (Ukrainian questionnaires were coded by people whose native tongue is Ukrainian). The questionnaire was comprised of 15 open-ended questions, 9 of which were pre-coded (nationality, occupation of respondent, lists of countries, soviet republics, occupation preferences for their children); for 6 questions, code-books were done on the basis of 300 questionnaires in RSFSR and 150 questionnaires in the Ukraine. For two questions (What are your hopes for the future and what do you need to be happy?) a list of codes for other countries was used as a starting point which served quite well and then they were supplemented by a few other codes marked specifically as Russian or Ukrainian.

The open-ended questions were coded, the data punched and data filed in ASCII format and then sent to the U.S.

The general supervision of the survey conducted in the Russian Republic and the Ukraine was carried out by Dr. Elena Bashkirova, a head of department of the Institute of Sociology and the Director of ROMIR Company, which is an independent research company for Russian public opinion and market research.

Russian survey results were statistically adjusted to take into account the oversampling of the Moscow and Leningrad regions (600 interviews). The 500 interviews obtained in the 40 primary sampling units within seven other oblasts (regions) were statistically weighted to represent 77% of the total sample. Survey results from Russia and the Ukraine were compared to official statistics on age, sex, education and degree of urbanization. Subsequently, it was deemed necessary only to statistically weight the results of the Russian and Ukrainian surveys to account for an

over-representation of well-educated people (not unlike the level of over-representation found in American surveys).

The Lithuanian Survey

The survey is based on a republic wide personal interview survey that embraced the adult population, aged 16 years and older, in all five ethnic regions of Lithuania.

Given the degree to which ethnicity is an important factor differentiating the opinions of inhabitants of the Republic, non-Lithuanians, Russians and Poles were oversampled.

The field interviewing was carried out in 50 primary sampling units by trained interviewers from the Sociological Laboratory of Vilnius University. Interviews were conducted in Lithuanian and Russian languages. Households were drawn on a "random route basis". One interview was conducted per household and age and sex quotas were used to select respondents within the household.

The sample of primary sampling units was drawn at random based on the latest Lithuanian Census data on sex, age, nationality, and urban-rural structure. Russians and Poles were oversampled so as to have a sufficient number for analysis. A total of 501 interviews were conducted, 332 with Lithuanians, 68 Russians, and 87 Poles. The sample was statistically weighted to account for this ethnic disproportionality. Given the completeness and recent nature of the census data, the survey data was statistically fit to an age, sex, and education model after the ethnic weighting was accomplished.

II. The Questionnaire

The initial draft of the questionnaire was developed by the ***Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press***. It was designed to facilitate cross-national comparisons of results amongst European countries and between European and American opinions. However, about a third of the questions in each survey are unique to each country, or Soviet republic under study. Many of the comparative questions in the survey were based upon measures developed by Times Mirror for its ***People, Press and Politics*** survey series.

A draft of the questionnaire was submitted in October of 1990 to a committee of European survey researchers consisting of the project leaders from each country included in the survey. Comments and suggestions were solicited and a second draft of the survey instrument was re-submitted to the European research group for pretesting. Pre-tests were conducted in December of 1990.

Final questionnaires were prepared based on results of the pretest and with the guidance and assistance of the European project leader group. The final questionnaire was submitted to each country in English On April 1, 1991. Drafts were returned to the Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press in local languages which were translated back into English as a check for language comparability.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
EAST/WEST POLL - MASTER TOPLINE
THE U.S.S.R.

Q.101 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

	Russia	Ukraine
Solution of economic problems	41	40
Save the country from economic crisis	19	20
Threat of starvation and food problems	18	14
Solve political problems	6	10
Lower the prices	5	6
Political crisis	6	5
Lack of stability and order	5	5
Nationality problems	5	6
Ecology	**	5
Problems related to political leaders	2	**
Cultural and moral problems	**	3
Transition to a market economy	3	3
Other	12	11
No reported	5	2

**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

Q.101 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

	Lithuania
Independence of Lithuania	52
General economic conditions	27
Low standard of living	9
Critics of authorities	4
Soviet army	3
Unemployment	2
Miscellaneous	8
DK	5

Q.106 All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future, if you are to be happy?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
General economic conditions	19	18	11
Personal economic situation	14	20	12
Family financially stable	9	10	5
Job/work situation	12	12	10
Own personal happiness	11	10	8
Civil peace and consensus in the country	7	7	*
Family well-being/Family life	8	7	12
Freedom	**	7	21
War/Peace	7	7	**
Good health	8	5	11
Better housing opportunities	3	**	4
Children's happiness/ Children's future	**	6	8

*Less than .5%
**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

CONTINUED....

Q.106 CONTINUED....

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
Confidence in tomorrow	3	5	**
Equality and respect for all people	3	**	3
Quality education for self or family	**	**	**
Security in old age	**	**	**
Political stability in the country	**	**	**
Less crime	**	**	**
Human rights/ respect of ethics of people/freedom	**	**	**
Safe environment/ clean water/air	**	**	**
That nothing will change	**	**	**
Less unemployment (general)	**	**	**
Individual freedoms	**	**	4
Faster and successfully carried out economic reform	**	**	**

*Less than .5%
**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

CONTINUED....

Q.106 CONTINUED....

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
To get rid of poverty and become a richer country	**	**	**
Preservation and future development of state social policy	**	**	**
Other	25	28	8
None/No hopes	3	2	2
DK	10	2	9

*Less than .5%
**Not among the ten most frequently cited answers in this country.

Q.108 **(HAND RESPONDENT CARD A)** Here is a ladder representing the "ladder of life." Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	2	3	5
Average	32	28	52
Low	64	67	43
No Opinion	2	2	*
	100	100	100

Q.109 On which step would you say you stood five years ago?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	12	12	13
Average	42	52	42
Low	43	32	43
No Opinion	3	4	2
	100	100	100
Feel Personal Progress	21	16	38
Feel Personal Decline	57	64	43
Neither	22	20	19
	100	100	100

Q.110 Just as your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	10	12	24
Average	31	32	32
Low	39	40	23
No Opinion	20	16	21
	100	100	100
Optimist	40	45	51
Pessimist	23	25	15
Neither	37	30	34
	100	100	100

Q.111 Looking at the ladder again, suppose the top represents the best possible situation for our country; and the bottom, the worst possible situation. Please tell me on which step of the ladder you think our country is at the present time.

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	1	1	2
Average	7	8	24
Low	89	89	71
No Opinion	3	2	3
	100	100	100

Q.112 On which step would you say our country was about five years ago?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	9	8	12
Average	41	49	32
Low	46	40	50
No Opinion	4	3	6
	100	100	100
Feel Progress	5	6	34
Feel Decline	85	84	52
Neither	10	10	14
	100	100	100

Q.113 Just as your best guess, if things go pretty much as you now expect, where do you think our country will be on the ladder, let us say, about five years from now?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
High	7	8	26
Average	23	25	36
Low	50	49	26
No Opinion	20	18	12
	100	100	100
Optimist	47	48	75
Pessimist	21	20	7
Neither	32	32	18
	100	100	100

Q.203 Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a multiparty system in our country?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
Total Approve	60	72	74
1 Strongly approve	21	21	30
2 Approve	39	51	45
Total Disapprove	26	18	17
3 Disapprove	19	15	11
4 Strongly disapprove	7	3	5
9 Dk	14	10	9
	100	100	100

Q.204 Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of efforts to establish a free market economy in ...?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
Total Approve	54	53	76
1 Strongly approve	15	13	26
2 Approve	39	40	50
Total Disapprove	32	34	11
3 Disapprove	23	26	8
4 Strongly disapprove	9	8	3
9 Dk	14	13	13
	100	100	100

Q.205 Do you think _____ is moving too quickly, too slowly or at about the right pace to a free market economy?

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
1 Too quickly	19	25	20
2 Too slowly	48	39	37
3 About right	5	6	21
4 Disapprove of move to free market economy (VOL)	10	10	4
9 No opinion	18	20	18
	100	100	100

Q.215 There are many views about the future development of society. (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D) Which of these views comes closest to your point of view?

Our Society in the Future	Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
1 A socialist society along the lines we have had in the past	10	10	3
2 A more democratic type of socialism	36	27	9
3 A modified form of capitalism such as found in Sweden	23	26	38
4 A free market form of capitalism such as found in the U.S. or Germany	17	23	29
9 No opinion	14	14	21
	100	100	100

Q.216a **(HAND RESPONDENT CARD E)** Of the items listed on this card, which is your greatest worry about the future? And which is second? (Q.216b in Lithuania)

	Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
a. We will not solve our economic problems Greatest worry	44	41	35
b. Political liberalization will not continue Greatest worry	3	4	6
c. There will be political repression Greatest worry	6	5	12
d. This republic will not achieve its independence from the Soviet Union Greatest worry	3	12	20
e. There will be a further breakdown in law and order Greatest worry	12	11	8
f. There will be an all out civil war Greatest worry	28	26	18
Don't know - greatest worry	4/100	1/100	1/100

Q.217 Do you favor or oppose farmers being able to sell land that they own?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
1	Favor	47	60	66
2	Oppose	42	27	27
9	Don't know	11	13	7
		100	100	100

Q.218 Do you favor or oppose the right of the individual to own and sell property at the price he or she sets?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
1	Favor	64	69	93
2	Oppose	28	20	5
9	Don't know	8	11	2
		100	100	100

Q.226 As I read from a list tell me if you think this activity should be mainly run by the state or a cooperative, or mainly run privately.

	Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
a. Farming			
State	6	5	9
Privately	75	74	56
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	15	19	33
No Opinion	4	2	2
	100	100	100
b. Health care			
State	47	43	33
Privately	10	10	27
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	42	46	38
No Opinion	1	1	2
	100	100	100
c. Banks			
State	52	52	47
Privately	10	8	20
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	32	33	25
No Opinion	6	7	8
	100	100	100
d. Food stores			
State			
Privately	(NOT ASKED)		(NOT ASKED)
Both (VOLUNTEERED)			
No Opinion			
e. Manufacture of consumer goods			
State	25	26	27
Privately	21	16	31
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	52	56	38
No Opinion	2	2	4
	100	100	100
f. Shops			
State	24	28	13
Privately	27	21	43
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	46	50	42
No Opinion	3	1	2
	100	100	100

*Less than .5%

CONTINUED....

Q.226 CONTINUED.....

	Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
g. Mining			
State			
Privately	(NOT ASKED)		(NOT ASKED)
Both (VOLUNTEERED)			
No Opinion			
h. Restaurants			
State	18	25	13
Privately	42	33	49
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	35	39	33
No Opinion	5	3	5
	100	100	100
i. Heavy industry			
State	79	86	69
Privately	3	1	8
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	14	11	16
No Opinion	4	2	7
	100	100	100
j. The phone system			
State	75	81	81
Privately	6	4	5
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	16	13	10
No Opinion	3	2	4
	100	100	100
k. Radio & television			
State	54	53	59
Privately	6	3	11
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	36	43	27
No Opinion	4	1	3
	100	100	100
l. Trains & buses			
State	63	71	67
Privately	6	3	7
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	28	24	24
No Opinion	3	2	2
	100	100	100
m. Newspapers			
State	41	41	39
Privately	10	5	16
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	46	53	42
No Opinion	3	1	3
	100	100	100

Q.226 CONTINUED....

	Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
f. Schools			
State	51	53	56
Privately	8	7	9
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	38	37	32
No Opinion	3	3	3
	100	100	100
m. Electricity			
State	88	93	88
Privately	2	*	1
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	7	5	6
No Opinion	3	2	5
	100	100	100

Q.229 Some say that people who get ahead these days do so mainly at the expense of other people, others say that people who get ahead these days do so because they have more ability and ambition than other people - which comes closer to your point of view?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
1	At other people's expense	46	44	39
2	Ability and ambition	37	37	50
9	No opinion	17	19	11
		100	100	100

Q.230 Some say that most people who don't succeed in life fail because of society's failures. Others say that most people who don't succeed do so because of their own individual failures. Which comes closer to your point of view?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lithuania
1	Society's failures	39	48	28
2	Personal failures	45	36	58
9	No opinion	16	16	14
		100	100	100

Q.233 Some people feel that prices should be allowed to rise so that products will be available, even if everyone can't afford them. Others feel that prices should be kept low, even if it means that products are sometimes not available? Which opinion generally comes closer to your point of view?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
1	Let prices increase	59	51	46
2	Keep prices low	31	37	43
9	Can't say	10	12	11
		100	100	100

Q.234 Some people feel that there should be no unemployment in _____, even if it means that the _____ economy will not be improved and modernized in the near future. Others feel some unemployment in _____ is acceptable, if that's what it takes to improve and modernize the economy. Generally, which position come closer to your point of view?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
1	No unemployment	30	33	31
2	Accept some unemployment	63	58	62
9	Can't say	7	9	7
		100	100	100

Q.235 Do you think that people who start privately owned businesses should be allowed to make as much profit as they can or should the government limit how much profit they can make?

		Russia*	Ukraine*	Lith-* uania
1	As much as they can	50	49	51
2	Limit it	45	45	43
9	Can't say	5	6	6
		100	100	100

Q.306 In general, how would you most prefer to be paid -- on a fixed salary basis, so that you always know how much you will earn --- or mostly on an incentive basis which will allow you to earn more if you accomplish a lot, but may result in less earnings if you don't accomplish enough?

		Russia	Ukraine	Lith-uania
1	Fixed	23	17	13
2	Incentive	65	79	86
9	Can't say	12	4	1
		100	100	100

*Less than .5%